NATIONAL
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The lid is on—as far as the basic issues go

This week we give you Adlai Stevenson's straw campaign lid to match the President's rose-colored glasses of last week. We hear they've got neolite "I like Ike" heels for the ladies too. What would you suggest for Nixon lovers—isolation booths?

POLITICS

Ike & Adlai agree: No foreign issues; Nixon muscles in

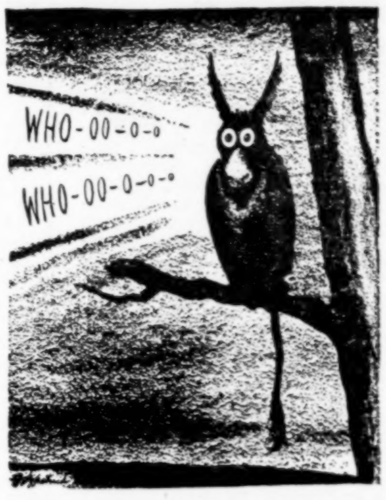
By Elmer Bendiner

THE LEADING Presidential contenders went before the American Society of Newspaper Editors late last month to pose the issues of foreign policy that divide them. When President Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson were finished those issues were harder to find than ever.

Walter Lippman in the N. Y. **Herald Tribune** (4/24) critically reviewed the performance:

"To write a speech that sounds well when it is spoken is an art, closely akin to writing for the theater, and last Saturday's ghost writers had little of the art. . . . Under the partisan fencing the striking thing about the speeches was that on no substantial question of policy is there an issue between them."

Stevenson pointed with pride to the Truman program of "containing" Communism in Greece and Turkey, of NATO and Korea. He denounced the Eisenhower policy "as if," commented Lippmann "in all essential respects the Eisenhower policy has not been the Truman policy."



—Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post Dispatch
Political weatherbird

UNINTIMIDATED: Stevenson made headlines with a proposal to ban all H-bomb tests which brought him into embarrassing agreement with the Russians whose protest against the forthcoming tests in the Pacific was received after the Stevenson speech was written but before it was delivered. Stevenson commented on the Russian move as if it were a plot against him:

"After some reflection I concluded that I would not be intimidated by the Communists and would not alter what I had written."

To show that he was not going "soft," Stevenson later called for a stepped-up program to develop guided missiles, denounced the Eisenhower Administration as "dangerously dilatory" in that race and, pointing to Russian progress, warned that "a projectile can be aimed with accuracy, even though it has been manufactured by workers who are 'ill-clothed, ill-fed and ill-housed' and ever in deadly fear of the police and the plant manager."

TRADE, MAYBE? The President in his prepared radio and TV address stoutly defended all his policies as victorious, held out olive branches to the Russians with strings attached, insisting that they "liberate" Eastern Europe, in effect restore Syngman Rhee to North Korea and yield to the West on Germany. In his off-the-cuff speech after the broadcast the President seemed much less sure of his course, indicated that the renewal of trade with the Socialist world might be necessary:

"There are no easy panaceas. You can't say, 'We simply won't trade with the Communist nations'—make that work for all of us. In fact, to make such a statement is, to my mind, giving up one of the great strengths for which the Yankee has always been noted: He is a good

(Continued on Page 8)

A CLOUD OF PERJURY

CP registration case returned to SACB by Supreme Court

THE SUPREME COURT, in a 6-3 decision, last week sent back to the Subversive Activities Control Board the case involving the government's attempt to force the Communist Party to register under the 1950 Internal Security Act. It ordered the board to reappraise the testimony of three witnesses accused by the CP of perjury.

In effect the court upheld CP objections which had been dismissed by a lower court. The CP had contended that two witnesses were being investigated by the Justice Dept. and that their "character as professional perjurors had been conclusively and publicly demonstrated." The government made immediate plans to re-hear the case, which it regards as a cornerstone in its "security" program.

On Nov. 20, 1950, the Government asked the SACB to order the CP to register as a Russian-controlled "Communist action organization." The board unanimously agreed that the CP should register. The CP challenged the ruling on constitutional grounds. It maintained that the 1950 act and the Communist Control Act of 1954 imposed "an unparalleled regimentation on freedom of speech, press and assembly" and established "a pervasive censorship over all dissenting opinion."

The court did not rule on the basic constitutional challenge. In the majority opinion Justice Frankfurter said that a cloud had been cast by the charge of perjury and that the cloud should be removed before the basic issues were considered. The three accused witnesses are Paul Crouch, now dead, Manning Johnson and Harvey Matusow.

In a statement after the decision, Eugene Dennis, CP general secretary, said that the opinion was "a partial victory for American political sanity . . . It is an effective blow to the political perjury system produced by the Justice Dept.'s stool pigeon stable."

CHINA MONTHLY REVIEW EDITOR FACES TRIAL

Powells and Schuman indicted on sedition charge

FORMER **China Monthly Review** editor John W. Powell and his wife Sylvia surrendered to a U. S. Marshal in San Francisco on April 27 after they, together with former associate editor of the **Review** Julian Schuman, had been indicted by a Federal Grand Jury on charges of sedition.

The Powells were released in cash bail of $5,000 each, pending arraignment before Federal Judge O. D. Hamlin in San Francisco on May 9.

Born in China and educated in the U. S., Powell was an Office of War Information field representative in China during World War II. After the war he returned to China to revive the **China Monthly Review,** founded in 1917 by his father, the noted journalist J. B. Powell, who died of mistreatment as a prisoner of the Japanese. There, in 1947, he married Sylvia Campbell, then an employee of the UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Julian Schuman went to China in 1947 as a free- lance correspondent and later joined the staff of the **Review.** In 1953 Powell closed his "family magazine because of insurmountable financial difficulties" and returned with his wife to the U. S.

ADVOCATED TRADE: In Sept., 1954, Powell appeared under subpena before the Jenner Committee in Washington. Surrounded by blown-up photostats of the **China Monthly Review,** 40 reporters, TV and newsreel cameras, Sen. Jenner spoke of U. S. "betrayal" of "our friend" Chiang Kai-shek. Government witnesses at the hearing testified that Powell wrote an American POW's wife about the Chinese treating American POWs with "leniency"; that the Chinese authorities distributed the **Review** in POW camps; and that "the Chinese Communists" had sent Powell back to this country with the "definite mission" of promoting U. S. trade with China.

In a statement the Jenner Committee did not allow him to read, Powell said at the time: U. S. government embargo was preventing American business-

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THE MAIL BAG

Work on Congress!

PARIS, FRANCE

American progressives must face the fact that there is an undemocratic as well as a democratic tradition in American politics, and that the structure of U.S. executive power, pretty much in this undemocratic tradition, is devised to keep a large portion of government out of direct contact with the people's will. The example of Dulles is especially clear on this. In France he would today be—as his friends, Bidault and Pinay and Faure are—an ex-Foreign Minister. The so-called "instability" of French ministries is an immense democratic step ahead of the "stable" American article.

To think that national political activity means the obligation to run a Presidential candidate is to fall for the old sucker's game. In fact, wasting time over the Presidency has taken the edge off every progressive movement to arise in the U.S. except the anti-slave movement which, first, had to take Lincoln instead of a Wendell Phillips, and secondly, elected Lincoln after all by a minority vote. What really licked the slavocrats in 1860 was their minority position in Congress.

In consideration of this, it is practically criminal to waste a dime of progressive money or a foot-pound of progressive energy on the Presidential race. While fooling around with this, decisive advances elsewhere are lost. What we really need is large representation in Congress. Can you imagine 50 Marcantonios in Congress today? Or 20 Glen Taylors in the Senate? Concentrate on getting a progressive bloc in Congress, that is the way to organize and advance in '56.

Joe Avincenna

Another new deal?

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

The new look on the left seems to me to call for practical political choices among Americans today, for compromise that is not compromising, for expedience that is not opportunism. Above all, it would seem sensible to seek to survive through assuring world peace, or at least facilitating it.

To write-in in a national election is not much better than boycotting the polls; it is a petty protest that may advertise inability to see differences that can prove tremendously consequential. Neither Stalin nor Browder were villains though they tried to attend different schools together. Politics is considerably a problem of timing. I want a socialistic America, but I don't expect to be able to vote for it for a few more years.

Of course present aim should be much more than just turning the rascals out, but this could facilitate survival. The plunderbund now in the trough are the world's worst menaces and their luck in balancing us on the brink cannot hold forever.

Since we cannot change the game yet, let's work for another new deal—and according to Illinois and New York records, we have a greater chance with Stevenson in 1956 than it looked as if we could have with FDR in 1932. I have seen no convincing argument that I should not this year vote for Stevenson (and I hope for Kefauver as his running mate).

Harry C. Steinmetz

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr.
A Portrait
By RAYMOND B. FOSDICK

The story of a man whose life has been pitted against the subtle adversities of vast wealth and influence — and whose millions touch the lives of most Americans.

Harper & Bros. Ad, N. Y. TIMES. 4/22

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: A.L.P. New York. Be sure to send original clipping with each entry.

Togetherness

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

I just wanted to let you know how some 12 GUARDIAN charter subscribers (we haven't missed a copy since the first issue) felt about the April 17 Carnegie Hall concert. I can't find enough of the right superlatives. The warm relaxed glow, the good feeling of togetherness . . . Well, you get the idea.

Claire Bolder

Picasso's Stalin

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

When Stalin had died, Picasso drew a picture of what he had seen in him. The orthodoxy condemned Picasso's "unreal, if not romantic, untruthfulness." But just as the Christian Church has preserved a picture of its founder which, in all its probable untruthfulness, ultimately seems to depict Him better than would any photo, if available, of the Hebrew artisan and self-styled rabbi from Nazareth, so—if Communism does stand — Picasso's picture will, in a thousand years, universally be understood to express the very real truth of what Stalin was: The one, great conserver, in ever-youthful strength, of one of mankind's grand, revolutionary endeavors to reach beyond man's imperfect self.

Bodo Ohly

No cheers

NEW YORK, N.Y.

As a mark of the new attitude the audience in the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. was asked not to rise every time the Soviet leaders entered, even when they entered collectively. Thus superstitious deference to Stalin is not to be replaced, let us hope, by forced cheering for the authorities of today.

A. H.

Sick-minded despots

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Charles Wason (4/2) thinks Laurence Olivier has taken "most of the humanity, drama, politics and poetry" out of Shakespeare's **Richard III** and made the play into "propaganda against humanity."

I think Wason is wrong. What is so unbelievable, so unnatural in Olivier's portrayal of a power-hungry psychotic who gets what he wants by framing up and murdering all actual or potential opponents? The rise of such a monster is possible in a stormy transition period when an old society is dying and a new one is trying to be born. If it can happen in history, why not on the stage and screen? **Richard III** is propaganda against sick-minded despots who torture humanity.

David Herreshoff

Frank criticism

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Enjoyed reading Robert Joyce's review of Joseph North's **Robert Minor** tremendously. His frank critical approach was so refreshing and provocative—but also showed a keen objective understanding of the effectiveness of Bob Minor's role as a political leader versus artist!

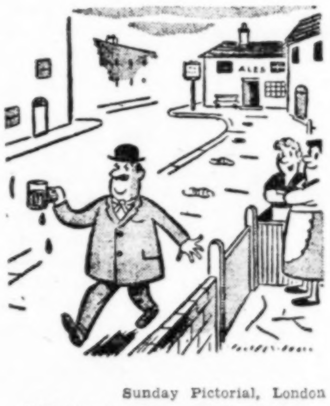
E.H.L.

Montgomery story

YAUCO, PUERTO RICO

The Montgomery series is magnificent; you have covered it so sympathetically and understandingly. It makes me, a native Montgomeryan, proud of my city.

Mary C. Speed



Sunday Pictorial, London

"Mother's Day. Thoughtful, ain't he?"

American women

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Shirley Graham's characterization of U.S. women is rash indeed: ". . . the nearest thing to a national fear among women of the U.S. is the fear of losing their youth. Before well-stocked refrigerators and deep-freezers their one supreme sacrifice is made in the cause of reducing!" (See her review, GUARDIAN 4/2/56, of Sillen's **Women Against Slavery.**)

Most U.S. women are one paycheck removed from poverty, and not even that in rural areas; the majority of U.S. wives have to work to keep the family in food, let alone decrepit housing. They are strained in face and figure from the struggle to live, not to reduce. (See U.S. Women's Bureau and U.S. Census and any other figures you want to look at). Perhaps Miss Graham thinks of "U.S. women" as that white upper-income handful, pathetic and disgusting as a group, whose counterpart can be found in any country. Passing the part for the whole is in this case slander.

The women of the working classes, colored and white, whose real equality remains to be won, do not deserve contempt or unfavorable comparison with their 19th century sisters. They'll get there. And, with more humility and considerably more appreciation of reality, we might even be able to help them.

Ellen Davidson

Loused up

CANTON, O.

"The louse, by adapting itself to parasitism, has attained the ideal of bourgeois civilization, although its methods of getting food, clothing and shelter are more direct than of business and banking; and its source of nourishment is not its own species." From **Rats, Lice and History**, by Dr. Hans Zinnser.

Moral: Be more careful about calling a guy a louse—it ain't fair to the louse.

Elmer Fish

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CEDRIC BELFRAGE *Editor-in-Exile* **JOHN T. McMANUS** *General Manager* **JAMES ARONSON** *Executive Editor*

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REPORT TO READERS

Moving Day

THE EARLY RESPONSES to our emergency Moving Day letter have been most generous, speedy and sprinkled with heart-warming comments. From the way things are starting, this could be the time we hear from everybody, for a change, instead of the usual one in ten.

As you read this, the moving men will be trundling our desks, typewriters, mailing equipment etc. across town to 197 East Fourth St., New York 9, but al mail addressed to 17 Murray St., New York 7, will continue to reach us without delay. We have quite a large number of reply envelopes circulating among subscribers, advertisers and others with the return address of 17 Murray St. and these envelopes should be used, as is, until we have been able to print business stationery with our new address.

QUITE A WHO'S WHO IS BUILDING UP among the early replies, all wishing us well and helping to "clean the slate and move ahead." One of the first was from Waldemar Hille, composer, arranger, folksong collector and co-author of the People's Songbooks. Attorney Frank Serri, defender of Smith Act victims, was another early bird; and so was Benjamin J. Davis, free again after paying his "debt to society" for trying to improve it. The Rev. Eliot White (ret.) wrote from Arlington, Mass., and Prof. John J. DeBoer from Champaign, Ill., who commented "You're good but you should be more independent. Fine journalists such as yours should not always seem to toot an orthodox horn." And from Boulder, Colo., another professor sent $3 with the notation: "This is more than I can spare. I continue to be without income—unemployed because I have ideals such as yours."

Buck-of-the-Monther Ray Kellogg, Norwalk, O., wrote: "Here's hoping you get your needed $13,000 plus $20 extra, which is just what we lack to mail the April issue of **Action**." Elmer Stevens of Valley City, N.D., sent $2 with the comment, "Get rid of Benson & Ike and I'll make it $200." And from Mooresville, Ind., $1 with the explanation: "I'm a family-sized farmer." Lewis Bayard Robinson wanted us to move to Baltimore "where you are within walking distance of Washington, the city of sin." And John Hoffman of Saugus, Calif., said with his $1, "If I had a hundred I'd send it."

THERE WERE TWO $100 CONTRIBUTIONS, some of $50 and quite a few of $25 but small bills make up the mostest. One 80-year old friend sent $2 with the hope that "you get hundreds of $2 bills." From Moline, Ill., came a $1 offering with the added truism, "If all subscribers would give as much, it would help." And with $14 from a whole N.Y. family, the hope that "the slate is not only cleaned but you move to the new quarters with a balance."

NOT EVERYBODY finds it easy to help. From San Francisco came $1 as "my last contribution because I am getting to be totally blind." Another, addressing us as "Honest Humanitarians", wrote "I am crippled and pennyless . . . I have to beg to get a few dollars for the subscription." "Very sick and under Welfare," writes a Bronx man, "the GUARDIAN is part of my life."

With $3 from Nogales, Ariz., came the remark ". . . that's like having a tooth pulled"; and with $5 from Nanuet, N.Y.; "So we eat beans the rest of the week." From Orlando, Fla., with $1: "If my blessing is worth anything, count that in too," and from Bound Top, N.Y., with $5, regrets that it is "still impossible for me to show how much I care."

FROM ALL OVER THE LAND the replies are coming, $10 from Conrad, Mont., $3 from Yoder, Wyo., from the big cities and the tiniest towns. We can't begin to print all the comments, but what this last one says, we hope you all are thinking:

"There's a Hebrew saying: 'Meshane Mokeim, Meshane Mazel'. Translated, it means, 'Changed place, changed luck!' Let's fight together to make sure the change is for the better."

Any comments?

THE GUARDIAN

CEDRIC BELFRAGE SUMS UP ON THE RUSSIAN VISIT

B & K in Britain: It wasn't the way you read it

By Cedric Belfrage

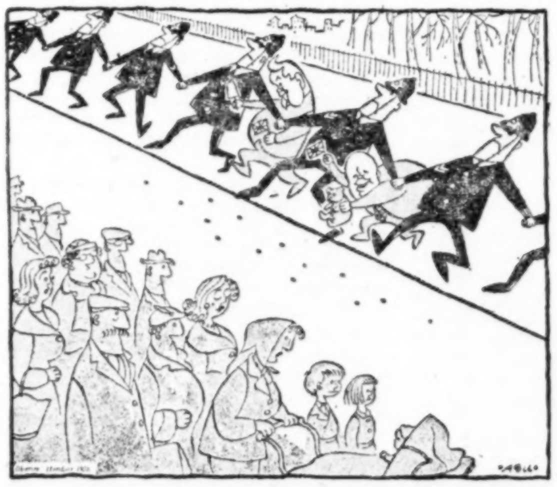
LONDON

FROM TORIES to trade unionists in Britain, with a tiny dissenting minority in all sectors, it is agreed that the B. and K. visit was a success if only because it happened. The popular-press headlines on their last morning reflected the cheerful feeling: "They **Don't** Want War—They **Do** Want Trade" (Tory **Daily Mail**); "Good News Today from B & K" (Labour **Daily Herald**); "The Visit Was Worth While" (Liberal **News-Chronicle**). The top-circulation popular paper **Daily Mirror** used its biggest type to headline a page-one editorial "B & K: The Stupid Mistakes Britain Made." The editorial "hoped Marshal Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev will come back again soon," criticised the crude behavior of some people toward them, and called them "the most important visitors to this country for half a century."

The visit ended with an enormous press conference in which Bulganin in his prepared statement, and Khrushchev in answering questions, displayed such candor and good humor as to stifle any possible hostility by reporters. We were frankly told what positions the Soviet and British leaders had taken where they could not agree, and it was again stressed that the U.S.S.R. wanted not to drive wedges between Britain and the U.S. but remove wedges that are already there and improve relations all around.

"DELICATE POSITION": Bulganin admitted that the disarmament question is "in a bad way" and asked whether anyone could explain the "riddle" of why the West opposed their own proposals when the Soviets agreed to them. On trade, Khrushchev said they realized Britain—caught between its commercial interests and its senior partner's restriction demands—was "in a delicate position"; but he "had no doubt it would find an appropriate delicate way" to get out of it.

Bulganin, when he was asked if they wanted to visit the U.S., pushed the question over to Khrushchev with a wry shrug. Khrushchev got a laugh by replying: "The U.S. is a very interesting country. Who would not like to visit it if he has business there?" He added that Russians had a great desire to go there but that even a group of cooks had recently been denied permits to enter: "Perhaps America is apprehensive that they might cook up something beside the cutlets."

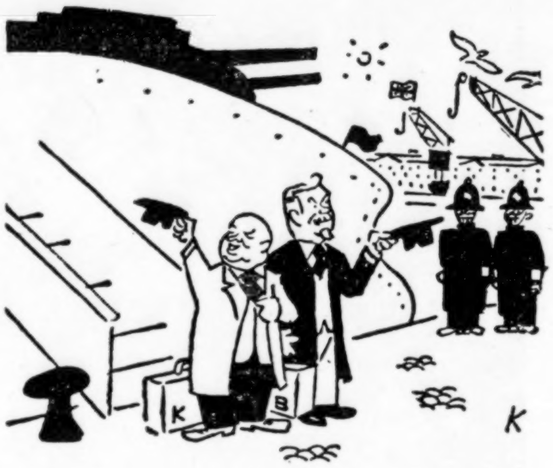


The Observer, London

400 MILLION HANDS: Asked if he thought conditions in Britain were good—since Soviet papers often implied they were not—Khrushchev said he thought highly of much in Britain but "could not go into details, since we did not talk to average British people but rather saw them from cars as we went by." B. and K. joined in a reply to one question as to what was being done about "the danger of power being concentrated in too few hands" in the U.S.S.R. They said that the estimated Soviet population was 200 million and each person had two hands, so that made 400 million hands in which power was concentrated; they didn't think that was too few, but anyway the number was growing fast as the population rose.

Perhaps the unhappiest people in Britain during the last days of the visit were right-wing Labour Party leaders who acted boorishly toward their guests when B. and K. dined with them, and realised later they had made a bad political blunder. When Khrushchev at the dinner tried to open up Communist-Social Democrat differences for frank discussion, these Labour leaders demanded satisfaction concerning 200 allegedly imprisoned Social Democrats in socialist countries.

THE MORNING AFTER; It was obvious to all that had they been seriously concerned to help imprisoned comrades, they could have brought the matter up privately with B. and K.—whom they saw almost every day—instead of at a dinner with the Russians as their guests and the press milling outside the door. It was a stunt to get headlines, and it got them, but on the "morning after" the Labour leaders realized the only sufferers were their own party. The Tories were jubilant and one said to me at the huge party Ambassador Malik gave for B. and K. at Claridge's hotel: "We were worried about the next elections but now, after Khrushchev has told the Labour chaps he could get along better with us than with them, we've got it all our own way."



Canard Enchaine, Paris

"God save the Q!"

Actually of course this is not quite accurate. The Tories have shown that they know how to act and talk correctly with the heads of government or a great power, but they are stuck with policies which are absurd and indefensible on any grounds. The Labourites do have the beginnings of sound policies but have shown they don't know how to conduct diplomatic negotiations. The Labour Party leader Gaitskell paid a special call on B. and K. at their hotel to try to rectify the mistake, and they were reported parting on a friendly note.

ONE REPORTER'S REPORT: In case any readers are worrying about the job security of Drew Middleton of the N.Y. **Times** in London, I suggest they should stop. Middleton's reporting of the B. and K. visit has been such as to draw the highest commendation from those who sign the checks in Times Square; and perhaps I won't be wrong in assuming that his work typifies what has been appearing nowhere else but in the press of the U.S. and of our democratic allies West Germany and Spain.

On April 24, a key day of the visit, he led off with Khrushchev's statement to Birmingham businessmen that Russia could make an H-bomb guided missile to hit any target in the world. Then he reported that Khrushchev at Monday's Labour Party Executive dinner "described Social Democrats as enemies of the working class and refused to consider freeing 200 Social Democratic leaders imprisoned in East Europe," and that he called Eisenhower's aerial inspection plan for disarmament a "fantasy." Middleton continued that this "change of tune" might be due to B. and K.'s "hostile reception" here, as evidenced in "Freedom for Latvia" banners raised by emigrés although "there also were Communists who cheered rhythmically."

THE WORLD KNOWS: One has the melancholy feeling that it is too late for this sort of tripe to have the desired effect. The press of the whole world has been represented here during the historic visit, and the world knows what has been happening. B. and K.'s reception by the British people became steadily warmer each day, and the Birmingham businessmen were especially impressed by their frankness and common sense. Nobody expected anything other than boos and hostile banners from the unfortunate emigrés, faced with the grim alternative of accepting socialism or dying in exile.

Khrushchev's remark about guided missiles was thrown rather casually into a speech on East-West trade, to make his point that the embargoes are having no effect on Soviet war potential—the only justification offered for them. All western journalists who are more than half baked have already admitted that Eisenhower's aerial inspection plan by itself is a disarmament fantasy.

At the Claridge's wingding thrown by Ambassador Malik, B. and K. could not have been in more jovial mood. The 2,000-odd guests who jammed the hotel ballroom like a rush-hour Broadway subway express—so that next day Lady Eden and Mrs. Dean of Canterbury and all the ladies were busy wiping vodka stains off their best dresses—gave B. and K. an almost overpowering reception. After a chat with the Charlie Chaplins, B. and K. closeted themselves in a private room for nearly two hours with U.S. disarmament chief Harold Stassen, Andrei Gromyko, and British Ambassador to Moscow Hayter.

THE ROYAL BOX: Big developments in British-Soviet trade seemed to be cooking from the almost daily get-togethers between Khrushchev and Board of Trade president Peter Thorneycroft, who were seen leaving Prime Minister Eden's house arm-in-arm, talking business with animated gestures.

In his speech at the Mansion House banquet—the first time London's city and financial leaders entertained Russian statemen since Tsar Alexander dined there in 1874—Bulganin offered "the widest possible extension" of Anglo-Soviet trade. It is rumored in business circles that a $2,800,000,000 five-year trade agreement may be expected as a result of the visit, with the U.S.S.R. paying in gold which could have a startling effect on the stability of sterling.

Such prospects are exciting not only to businessmen but to all in Britain at a time when, mainly because of vast arms expenditures, the housing crisis deepens every day and the prices of bread and tobacco have soared to all-time highs. The British people reacted strongly to Khrushchev's comparison of the nations' costly rearmament with "a fox trying to catch his own tail." On the same day Labour MP Emrys Hughes, introducing a bill to cut arms and armed forces, pointed out that Britain's present arms bill is costing every Englishman some $1.75 a week.

NIKKI AND COMPANY: Perhaps it is easier from one or two peripheral events of the visit to perceive what the realities are, and how far off-base are the hostile elements with their schoolboy stunts played for cheap headlines. The friendliness of the public would have been captured, even without B. and K. and the good impression they made, by such members of the visiting party as Dr. Strogov, Soviet atomic chief Dr. Kurchatov, the sailors, and Nikki the baby bear presented to Princess Anne.

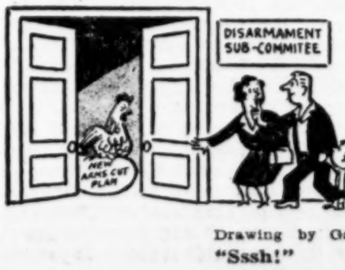
B. and K. invited all and sundry to come and visit the Soviet Union, but the most popular invitation was that of Dr. Strogov—who brought two Russian horses as gifts for the royal family—to British horses to come and compete in the Moscow Derby. The sailors—300 of them—gave Portsmouth girls their biggest thrill at a dance where they abandoned themselves to the Palais Glide and joined in a mass goodnight chorus of Tipperary. (The **Manchaster Guardian**, which afterwards overheard two sailors discussing English currency and the decimal system with a bus conductor, ruefully contrasted the sailors' knowledge of simple English with the linguistic vacuum of the Britons they met.)

THE SCENE AT HARWELL: Dr. Ivan Kurchatov's contribution was to delight the man in the street by showing up the melodramatic "atom security" nonsense. The press said British atomic scientists whom Dr. Kurchatov visited at super-secret Harwell "feared he was going to 'pump' them." Instead he got up and benignly gave them full details, with figures and formulae, of experiments completed in the U.S.S.R. to harness thermonuclear power for industry. The British scientists, working under the strictest Anglo-U.S. "security" conditions, had just begun similar experiments and Dr. Kurchatov's information—if they had known it, which they didn't—would have been classed as "top secret."

On the same day the Russians extended an invitation to the public to come and inspect their TY-104 jet airliners of which three have been shuttling to and from Moscow in 4½ hours nonstop—a little more than half the time in which the best British plane can make the trip. The Air Ministry turned thumbs down on the invitation, a spokesman explaining stiffly: "There are reasons of security . . ."

Washington's "warnings" that the B. and K. visit is intended to divide Britain from the U.S. were answered by Khrushchev when he said to the British leaders: "We hope you'll help us to have friendlier relations with the U.S." Alexander Werth, Russian-speaking writer for **Reynolds News** and a distinguished wartime correspondent in Moscow, reports that one of B. and K.'s party told him this was "perhaps the most significant phrase uttered during the whole visit."

Werth's Soviet informant added: "We can't and don't expect to drive a wedge between Britain and the U.S." but hope rather that this visit will be a "rehearsal" for a visit to the U.S. next year. "If we can make friends with the U.S., then peace will be secure for 100 years at least."



Drawing by Gabriel, London

"Sssh!"

"CONVERTED TO MARXISM BY A SONG?"

Ban on Robeson tour stirs a storm in Canada

THE REASON Paul Robeson was forbidden to make a 38-day Canadian concert tour was that he would have been performing "under . . . Communist auspices." That is what Canadian Minister of Citizenship and Immigration Pickersgill is telling protesting Canadians, through few in Canada seem to believe him, or to agree with his reasoning.

The alleged "Communist auspices" is Jerom Concerts and Artists Ltd., Toronto agency which arranged the April 15-May 23 tour. Jerom Concerts told the press:

"Following his successful concert in Toronto last February . . . Paul Robeson decided to present a series of concerts across Canada . . . Mr. Robeson and his accompanist, Alan Booth, had been scheduled to appear in 17 cities . . . Interest in Mr. Robeson's tour amongst concert-goers everywhere was widespread and sell-out audiences seemed to be assured in almost every city . . .

"Once the itinerary had been set, as a matter of routine we notified the Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration. We were greatly amazed and much disturbed when we in turn received a letter from the Department advising us that 'Mr. Robeson and his party cannot be admitted to Canada for the purpose stated. . .'

"To our knowledge not a single country in the British Commonwealth would today prevent Mr. Robeson from coming in to give commercial concerts . . . We do not believe the Department's action will be endorsed by the Canadian concert-going public."

THE "EXPLANATION": Further light was shed by a Canadian House of Commons discussion April 11, with Pickersgill up for interrogation:

Mr. Coldwell: "Mr. Speaker... Will the minister inform the House of the reasons for the refusal to admit Mr. Paul Robeson to Canada to give a series of concerts?"

Mr. P.: "It is not the policy of the government to admit known Communists to this country, either as immigrants or as visitors. An exception had, however, been made in the case of Mr. Robeson and of one or two other persons who were coming here as artists for purposes which appeared to be purely artistic and to have nothing to do with politics . . . Mr. Robeson made such a visit to Canada [in February].

PAUL ROBESON AT PEEKSKILL
How subversive can Schubert get?

"When my attention was drawn to the fact that Mr. Robeson was proposing to make a tour across Canada, I felt it was proper for me to make certain inquiries as to the auspices . . . Having made these inquiries, it did not seem to me to be reasonable to admit from some other country a person who is a known and, I believe, a professed, Communist, who was coming here to perform under what were, according to the information I have, Communist auspices."

PRESS CRITICAL: The Toronto Daily Star (4/11) was skeptical: "This is the Department's unfrank way of saying that it doesn't like the politics of Mr. Robeson or his sponsor . . . Does the Immigration Department fear that Canadians will be converted to Marxism by a song? Let it be noted that this action is an interference with the freedom of Canadians, no less than foreigners . . . This is an act reminiscent of American official behavior in the days when McCarthyism was in flower. . ."

If Robeson was barred, said the Tory Toronto **Globe and Mail** (4/12), "because his Communist sympathies were to be used by Communists here for Communist purposes," why pick on Jerom Concerts? Was it "because it is, or appears to be, a Communist-front organization?" But there are "several such organizations, all of them functioning legally." Can Jerom Concerts, therefore, "be prevented from doing what some other agency would be permitted to do?"

BUREAUCRATIC ASS: The Toronto **Telegram** (4/12) said Mr. Robeson as a singer "has merit"; as a "propagandist" he has nothing Canadians want. The government now has given him a "message," which is "that bureaucracy makes an utter ass of itself when, particularly in a land which prides itself on freedom of expression, it thinks it can stop the flow of ideas."

Robeson's programs were to include songs by Schubert, Beethoven, Dvorak and Moussorgsky; Negro, Yiddish, and Canadian folk pieces; piano selections from Kaballevsky, Guarnieri and Chopin by accompanist Booth. Among the U. S. songs was Earl Robinson's "What is America to Me?" ("The House I Live In").

Jerom Concerts manager John Boyd told the GUARDIAN: "The protest here is still developing . . . The Dept. of Immigration hasn't heard the last of it by any means."

LEGAL PROFESSION FIGHTS BACK

Washington attacks lawyers defending unpopular causes

By Lawrence Emery

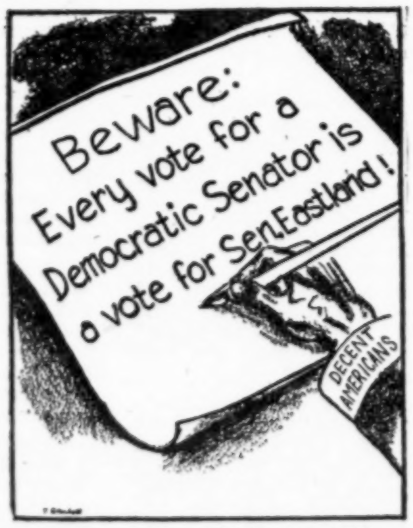
IT'S HARDLY SAFE these days to be a lawyer, or even a judge, under the government's continuing pursuit of reds. You might even get your arm broken.

The attack on the legal profession for upholding its own professional canons of ethics in defending unpopular causes took a spectacular turn early last month in New Orleans. Sen. James O. Eastland (D.-Miss.), chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, became displeased with New York attorney Philip Wittenberg who was defense counsel for several of the Senator's victims. He ordered two deputy marshalls to put Wittenberg out of the hearing room and they responded with such eagerness that Wittenberg ended up in a hospital with a sprained wrist and an injured shoulder that had to be put in a cast. After being patched up, he said:

'Never in my 40 years of practice have I seen such emotion and intellectual violence as Sen. Eastland displayed. I think that display of sadistic violence in the last few minutes of the hearing described well the legal violence which the subcommittee practiced on all the witnesses."

"NATIONAL SCANDAL": Wittenberg announced that he was considering suing the Senator, and the Natl. Lawyers Guild called the assault a "national scandal" and demanded that the Senate "take appropriate disciplinary action against Sen. Eastland in order to protect its own dignity and safeguard standards of public conduct." There was no noticeable reaction from the Senate and even the vocal liberal Democrats remained silent.

The physical mauling of Wittenberg was preceded by other attacks on lawyers for defending Communists. Asst. Atty. Gen. William F. Tompkins, head of an Internal Security Divn. set up in the Justice Dept. by Herbert Brownell, early in March had denounced such attorneys as "dupes of the Communists." His remarks, recorded by United Press reporter Robert F. Coll, set off quite a reaction in Cleveland, Ohio.


Beware:
Every vote for a Democratic Senator is a vote for Sen.Eastland!
DECENT AMERICANS

Afro-American, Baltimore

Memo for election day next November!

In that city a Federal judge had prevailed upon the local bar associations to provide counsel for ten persons accused of violating the Smith Act. Seven lawyers, representing some of the most respected law firms in the city, responded; some were paid by their firms during the four-month trial, the others were paid from a fund of $25,000 raised by one of the bar associations. They did their work well; of the ten tried, four were freed.

THE HIGHEST TRADITION: The **Cleveland Press** called Tompkins' remarks "vicious and thoroughly un-American" and the Cleveland Bar Assn. said:

"The defense of an unpopular cause is not an easy task. Those who perform such tasks are acting in the highest and best tradition, and they should be thanked and not blamed for keeping alive in the U.S. the Constitutional tradition that every man should have a fair trial . . . The Justice Dept. is the last branch of our government which should attack the bar for doing its patriotic duty."

Cleveland lawyers set up such a protest that Tompkins eventually declared that he had been misquoted, but reporter Coll answered back:

"The quote was correct. He [Tompkins] actually went further than my story said. He said the Communists were 'laughing at these guys who defend them,' and he used the word 'suckers'. I omitted these remarks because I thought they were intemperate."

HOOVER TESTIFIES: But Tompkins was not the only law enforcement officer of the government who thought that Communists should not be defended in court. FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover in March told a House Appropriations subcommittee that the Communist Party plans a series of "legal maneuvers" with "eminent counsel" to represent it. He precluded the right of Communists to such counsel:

"A fearless and independent legal profession, alert to the Machiavellian devices of the Communists, is one of our best lines of defense against this conspiracy . . . The legal profession has also condemned the conduct of a small but vocal group of lawyers who have tried to twist the court procedures and protections and resort to methods of chicanery to turn our legal and judicial system into a mockery as part of their campaign to destroy our American way of life."

WALTER IS UPSET: Judges were getting their lumps, too. Henry W. Edgerton and David L. Bazelon of the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington recently ruled that Congressional committees have no authority to compel witnesses to expose former Communists simply for the sake of exposing them, and they reversed a conviction for contempt against Illinois labor leader John T. Watkins. This so outraged Rep. Francis E. Walter (D.-Pa.), chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, that he demanded that a House Appropriations subcommittee "look into the background of the two judges that set aside this conviction."

The Court decided to rehear the case with the full bench sitting and on April 23, in a 6 to 2 decision, reversed the earlier 2 to 1 ruling and upheld Watkins' conviction. Judges Edgerton and Bazelon were the dissenters. Watkins will appeal to the Supreme Court.

Federal Judge Bailey Aldrich of Boston was also denounced by Sen. Joe McCarthy, who turned down a request of the Justice Dept. to testify in a contempt of Congress trial of Wendell H. Furry:

"I will not, if I can help it, be a party to a miscarriage of justice that is bound to occur in Judge Aldrich's court in any case involving Communism."

The Senator was irked because Judge Aldrich had earlier acquitted one of his victims, Leon J. Kamin; he told the Senate: "In Judge Aldrich's kangaroo court, the government has not the slightest hope of obtaining a conviction."

All told, some lawmakers were gunning for upholders of the law on the simple ground that persons accused of Communist beliefs were entitled to no protection of the law but ought to be shot out of hand.

L. A. Arts Festival opens May 18

THE WORLD PREMIERE of Lester Cole's play on the underground railroad in pre-Civil War Virginia, **The Echoing Hills,** will be a feature of the 5th Annual Festival of Arts of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles beginning Fri. evening, May 18, through Sun. evening, June 3.

The Festival's theme, "Man Is One Family," will be interpreted in many forms of artistic expression. In addition to Cole's play there will be an art exhibition with gallery talks by Mary A. Holmes of the Art Dept., UCLA, and Frank Kleinholtz, noted painter; a Children's Story Hour with Taro Yashima; prize winning films and a special children's film program; a concert by the First Unitarian Choir offering Mozart's "Freemason Cantata," George Kleinsinger's "I Hear America Singing" and Kabalevsky's "Concerto for Cello" performed by George Neikrug; a program of song and dance with dancers Eva Desca and Sue Remos, folk singer-guitarist Marcia Berman and pianist Waldemar Hille.

An added special feature will be concerts by Paul Robeson, accompanied by Alan Booth, pianist, on Fri. evening, June 1, and Sun. evening, June 3.

Advance tickets for all programs may be obtained by writing the First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8th St., L.A., or call Dunkirk 9998.

THE DOUBTS ARE SPREADING

Why Eastland Committee called Gold and Greenglass

WHEN Ethel and Julius Rosenberg went to their deaths and Morton Sobell to Alcatraz for 30 years, the public was told that the "heinous" crime involved was a conspiracy to reveal the secret of the atom bomb to the Russians.

Last week the major government witness in those trials, Harry Gold, told the Senate Internal Security subcommittee in Washington that the atom-bomb information was not of major importance. It was less significant, he said, than data on photographic processes, allegedly lifted not from any government source but from the files of the Eastman-Kodak Co.

The subcommittee, chaired by Sen. Eastland (D-Miss.), summoned Gold and David Greenglass, Ethel Rosenberg's brother, whose testimony was largely responsible for the conviction. Both were brought from Lewisburg Penitentiary where Gold is serving a 30-year term and Greenglass 15 years.

Meeting May 15

NEW EVIDENCE in the Sobell case will be presented at a meeting in New York's Carnegie Hall, Tuesday evening, May 15. The Committee To Secure Justice For Morton Sobell, sponsors of the rally, have announced these speakers:

Probate Court Judge Patrick H. O'Brien, former attorney-general of Michigan, Professor of Law Stephen Love and John Wexley, author of **The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.**

IN THE JOURNALS: Gold told the committee:

"You see, eventually, once it was known that the atom could be split, anyone could do it with sufficient technical and industrial potential. . . . There is no question about it because the theory was known. Everything that had to be known had already been published in the theoretical journals."

Gold now contended that the "secret" was a "sensitizer" which, he said, at the prodding of Committee member Herman Welker (R-Ida.), could render camouflage ineffective.

It seemed clear from Sen. Welker's questioning that the hearing was prompted by mounting conviction throughout the world that the Rosenberg and Sobell cases were frameups. In England mathematician and philosopher Earl Bertrand Russell had asserted the innocence of the Rosenbergs and Sobell and denounced FBI "atrocities." In the U. S. and abroad John Wexley's **The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg** and William Reuben's **The Atom Spy Hoax** had stirred doubts among people who had voiced none throughout the trials.

THE INFORMER: The documented case presented in these works and elsewhere Gold dismissed as a "mountain of trash." He said he had read mainly book reviews and not the books themselves, unavailable at Lewisburg. He tried to straighten out one of the many chronological discrepancies noted in his court testimony. Then he said of Earl Russell:

"I am amazed that a man, a mathematician, yet, the queen of the sciences, the one really rigid science, a man who was a mathematician, should go so completely and totally astray."

Gold, who won fulsome praise from the committee, told of his inner torment. He recalled seeing the movie, **The Informer,** and commented: "That burned very deeply into me."

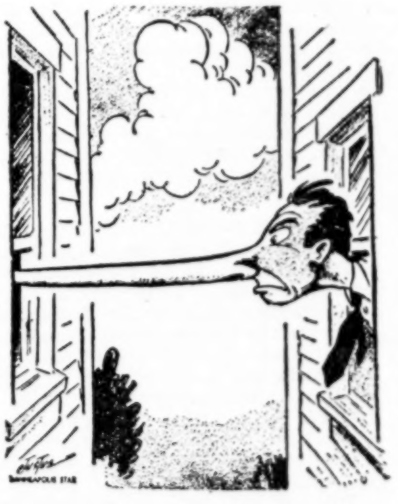
Greenglass' scientific background consists of eight high school courses in Brooklyn Polytech, in all of which he failed. Yet at last week's hearings he repeated that he secured all the key data for Gold not by stealing documents but by eavesdropping on scientists' conversations. From these he pieced together material from which he allegedly later drew the diagrams of the A-bomb for the "spy ring."

A PRINCETON-TYPE: His testimony was geared to current headlines. Though he had never mentioned the matter before, he testified at length about spies in embassies, up-dating his story to mesh with the stories on the "kidnaped" Russian seamen. When asked about spies in universities, he nimbly mentioned Princeton, though he had not done so in court testimony. Princeton was in the news following a speech there by Alger Hiss. Greenglass added that he meant only a Princeton "type" of university.

On his way into the courtroom Greenglass had been called a "murderer." He told the committee it was "hard" to be called a murderer, but harder still to go to the martyrdom which he said his sister had sought.

Mrs. Helen Sobell, wife of Morton Sobell, was among the spectators at the hearing. Members of the Committee to Secure Justice For Morton Sobell distributed copies of a letter directed to Sen. Eastland and a collection of statements on the incredibility of Gold and Greenglass by Dr. Harold Urey, Prof. Francis Wormuth and author Elmer Davis.

The Committee expects shortly to move for a new trial for Sobell.



Justus in Minneapolis Star

SUPER PATRIOT

Cost: Five years

THE equivalent of $3.4 million will be spent in 1956 by the Soviet Union for scientific research—almost 20% more than in 1955. The Soviet Finance Minister, Arseny G. Zverev, in his address to the Soviet legislature recently, demanded that the work of research establishments be seriously improved and called for concentration "on solving problems of first-rate importance for realizing technical progress."

An article in a recent **Scientific American,** by William N. Locke of MIT, warns that the overlooking, by U.S. scientists, of advances that had been made by the Russians in electrical problems, had cost U.S. industry five years in time and $200,000. An article published in a Soviet scientific magazine in 1950 solved a number of key problems in the area of electrical circuits and networks. The Russian findings were not grasped in this country until 1955, and in the meantime U.S. scientists and engineers were trying to solve the problem without the Russian knowledge.

Chemical & Engineering News, Feb. 6, 1956.

WILL THEY BREAK THE BARRIER?

Soviet proposals at ECE talks may bring a turn in Europe

By Tabitha Petran

GENEVA

THE RECENTLY CONCLUDED 11th session of the UN's Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) may have marked the beginning of an important turn in postwar European relations. For a rather sweeping change of Soviet policy was embodied in the U.S.S.R.'s proposals for economic cooperation on an all-European scale. Hitherto opposed to all forms of multilateral economic arrangements, the U.S.S.R. here advocated just such arrangements on a broad economic front, including even use of natural resources.

To Western governments, which have long sought to blame socialist reluctance for the undeveloped state of East-West economic relations, the Soviet proposals came as a surprise and provoked considerable consternation. However unwilling to accept the proposals, the West was unable to reject them outright.

Western spokesmen sought to dismiss the Soviet initiative as "too general," "too vague," and aimed at liquidating purely Western economic arrangements. The U.S.S.R., however, made no pretense of presenting a concrete specific program. Such steps, socialist spokesmen conceded, present complicated problems which must be worked out by stages. The proposals were rather in the nature of a statement of principles.

TWO MAIN AIMS: In proposing a unified approach to key problems—trade and payments, credit and banking, communications and transport, development of atomic energy—the U.S.S.R., seconded by other socialist countries, appeared to have two principle aims:

- To liquidate the cold war division of Europe and its harmful effects on both sides of the East-West dividing line.
- To use ECE—international organ closest to universality in membership—as a proving ground for working out a new approach to economic relations between socialist and capitalist countries, and to international economic relations in general.

The potentialities appeared most concretely in the proposal for an all-European atomic energy committee to study economic aspects of its use, and to exchange scientific and technical experience and information. The U.S.S.R. would be putting more into such an agency than it could get out of it. The existence of an operating atomic power plant and the extensive atomic power construction projected in the U.S.S.R.'s Sixth Five Year Plan show Soviet atomic technology to be the most advanced in Europe.

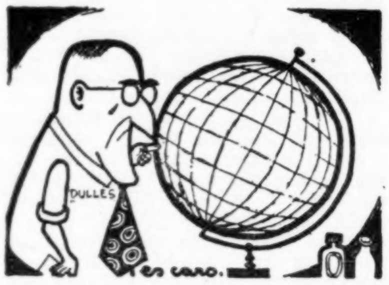
POWER FOR EUROPE: Its offer to share its atomic know-how was motivated, according to Soviet spokesmen, by the belief that this would help eliminate the dangers of atomic energy being used for military purposes, while contributing to the growth of a European economy which increasingly needs new energy sources.

The idea of an all-European atomic energy committee could not fail to strike a responsive chord. In Paris **Le Monde** (4/15) said that if "exchange of fissionable materials between the two Europes and common atomic installations are not for tomorrow, this is still no reason to refuse to set up the pool of atomic documentation" proposed by the Russians. But the Soviet proposal met strong official resistance from the U. S., Britain, France and W. Germany.

TWO OTHER PLANS: The latter two are officially dedicated to Euratom. This is a project of Europe's Little Six, requiring surrender of national sovereignty in atomic matters to an overall Authority, which would control the pool of fissionable material, etc. Also projected in W. Europe is a plan of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation calling for general decisions by its 17 member nations and participation on a voluntary basis. The one does not necessarily exclude the other. Euratom, for example, might exist within OEEC.

Such projects, however, inevitably work to perpetuate the division of Europe. This fact was underlined by France which, in rejecting the all-European concept, held out the prospect of eventual collaboration on atomic questions between OEEC and an Eastern grouping—that is, a policy based on maintaining the East-West division. This division ECE and the UN are trying to eliminate.

THE SPLIT IN FRANCE: The French government itself is divided on Euratom, which many in France equate with the European Defense Community. Even as ECE met here the Foreign Affairs commissions of the French National Assembly and Senate voiced their opposition to Euratom and warned the government that if it tried to push through ratification by May 3 (as originally planned), Euratom would meet the same fate as EDC. To a wide section of French opinion, Euratom means turning over to W. Germany the fruits of France's atomic research, opening the door to possible U. S. and W. German control of W. Europe's atomic energy industry and providing a new arm of U. S. military policy.



Liberation, Paris

"You there, I'm not pleased with you and that goes for you too."

British opposition to Moscow's plan, stemming apparently from its fears of any moves toward continental unity and cooperation, are stronger. U. S. opposition appeared to be dictated (1) by its desire to maintain the initiative won by President Eisenhower's "atoms for peace" plan, and (2) by the reason cited by **Le Monde:**

"If the U. S. has supported the concept of Euratom rather than that of OEEC, it is, as everyone knows, because its control seems more assured with six countries than with 16. . . . Wouldn't this proposed set-up at Geneva . . . appear to the U. S. even more dangerous . . . because the U. S. would not be there to supervise it?"

A LOOK AHEAD: The Western powers succeeded in emasculating the Soviet atomic proposal beyond recognition: ECE decided that governments could exchange views on this subject, if they liked, and it would be placed on next year's agenda. The proposal for all-European economic cooperation fared somewhat better: additional information and documentation was requested and the matter referred to a working party which will report next year.

If this ECE session appeared to some observers as the least frutiful and concrete in its ten-year history, as reported by **Le Monde** (4/22), and "the major Western powers more hesitant than ever to take positive action in the economic field," the fact of the new Soviet approach carried considerable significance for the future. For this approach developed out of a concrete economic situation.

It was made possible by the growing economic strength of the socialist countries, and it was designed to meet the needs of W. European countries—needs developing out of the dangerous underlying weaknesses of their economies.

ARE THE DICTATOR'S DAYS NUMBERED?

Trial in Madrid puts Franco on the griddle

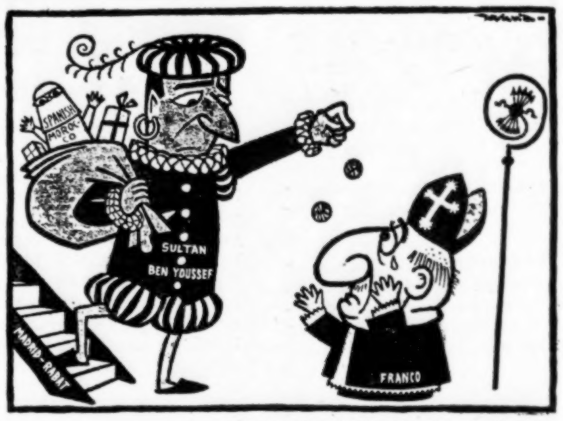
SINCE last February, Spain's dictator Francisco Franco has been harried by opposition from Madrid University students and by widespread workers' strikes, even though striking is illegal in Spain.

On April 25 four young intellectuals were sentenced to six months to a year in jail and fined $125 to $250. They were tried for protesting the arrest last February of students urging a national students' congress to review "the humiliating situation of our university where . . . basic professional, economic, religious, cultural" and other problems were not being solved.

The trial drew widespread attention in Spain because former Republican leader Jose Maria Gil Robles, aloof from politics since his return from exile in Portugal, made his first public appearance as a defense attorney.

FORCED INTO THE OPEN: The trial was first scheduled to be held behind closed doors because "an open trial would in all likelihood provide an incentive for public manifestations of solidarity with, and opposition to, the regime" (**N. Y. Times, 4/23**). But it was partially opened to the public—with 80 plainclothes policemen taking their seats first—because of what the presiding judge Alejandro Garcia Gomez called the "international resonance" of the February student demonstration. Nevertheless, Madrid afternoon newspapers carried no accounts of the trial.

On April 23 a leading witness, former law faculty dean and staunch Franco supporter Manuel Torres Lopez, "delivered with emotion . . . one of the most damaging pictures of the present-day Spanish political atmosphere" (**NYT, 4/24**). Lopez resigned his post in protest when, as he testified, Falangists on Feb. 8-9 attacked students in classrooms and corridors of the university with "revolvers, blackjacks, truncheons and brass knuckles." He also said that Falangists threatened him with a pistol when he protested against students being beaten up.



De Groene Amsterdammer, Amsterdam
"And your share is two spice drops."

THOUSANDS WALK OUT: Other witnesses on the first day of the trial, including two Catholic priests, testified that the four defendants were practicing Roman Catholics who had never belonged to any left-wing organizations.

Lawyers described Gil Robles' defense as "a penetrating analysis of the juridical and political shortcomings of the totalitarian state." When he finished, his colleagues felt "it was not the four young men who were on trial but in a sense the regime" (**NYT, 4/25**). The sentences were so light in comparison with the prosecution's demand that lawyers regarded them as nominal.

A handbill, presumably being circulated by students, calls for "a free university, freedom of the press and freedom for trade unions and universities."

Defying the ban on strikes, during the last four weeks thousands of workers have walked out of factories in Barcelona, Guipozcoa, Navarre, Bilbao, San Sebastian and Pamplona. Pamplona's Civil Governor reported two weeks ago that the strikes had affected "industries, factories and commercial activities." **AP** reported (4/17) scores of workers under arrest and the situation "potentially explosive." Although many strikers resumed work after obtaining wage increases, partial walkouts were still reported from Guipozcoa and Pamplona and "the possibilities of new strikes loomed in Valencia" (**NYT, 4/18**).

A VISITOR ARRIVES: In the midst of this furor, Franco's Foreign Minister Alberto Martin Artajo arrived in the U.S. The N. Y. **Herald-Tribune** reported (4/13) that Artajo had come to renegotiate the use of American military bases in Spain and to discuss "increased military aid to Spain [and] the possible use of nuclear weapons in any future war." On April 15 the **H-T** published a 24-page Franco section with an eight-column headline proclaiming: "Spain Builds New Era of Economic Expansion." The lead article described Spain as "a nation moving steadily forward in its recovery from disastrous civil war and, before that, negligent government."

Noting that in the **H-T's** Franco section "it was often difficult to tell the difference between the paid ads and the so-called news copy," the N. Y. **Post** (4/17) said: "We think it would be nice if the H-T devoted some of the revenue from its Spanish supplement to a real-life study of Franco's oppressive dictatorship."

In the face of these developments, the GUARDIAN received from a special correspondent in Paris this week a report which throws considerable light on events inside Spain. The dispatch appears below.

AS HIS FOREIGN MINISTER BUTTERS UP AMERICA

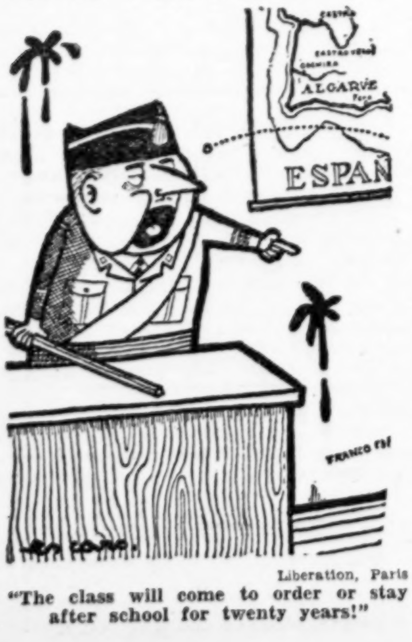
Exclusive: Behind the revolt of the students in Spain

Special to The Guardian
PARIS

THE WASHINGTON VISIT of Spain's Foreign Minister is interpreted in W. Europe as an effort to bolster the faltering Franco regime with new U. S. aid and to give it new international "security" by admission to NATO. Opinion here is that the present strains and troubles within NATO make this a badly chosen moment for the Spanish initiative.

Ever since the February university demonstrations, a few Spanish students have been arriving in Paris by underground routes. Some attended a press conference given recently by slender, handsome Antonio Lopez Campillo, a graduate student accused by the Franco government of being the leader of the alleged "Communist plot" behind the demonstrations.

Campillo came to Paris four months ago for his doctorate in chemistry. He said that by accusing him of being the "liaison agent" between the students arrested in Madrid and the Paris Soviet Embassy the Franco government hoped he would choose political exile—and thus help substantiate its inventions and convict the students.



Liberation, Paris
"The class will come to order or stay after school for twenty years!"

SEEK WORLD SUPPORT: At the press conference Campillo announced his willingness to return to Spain for trial, provided he was accompanied by a lawyer and given certain juridical guarantees. Confessing that only recently he was a "convinced Falangist," he spoke now as a Spanish student movement representative, aiming to rally for it the support of students throughout the world. (Argentinian, Cuban, French, British, Scandinavian and Swiss students have expressed support. So far not a word has come from U. S. students, although Spanish students consider their attitude most crucial. Students and most others in Spain believe that Franco's main—and now perhaps last—support is the U. S.)

From Spanish students in Paris, the GUARDIAN learned these facts:

The student movement began at Madrid University as a revolt against the Falangist Student Union rule, with a demand for academic freedom. Even the writings of Jacques Maritain, a leading French Catholic thinker, are banned in Spain. Students may consult books in the National Library only by presenting a statement from someone close to the regime—preferably a priest—guaranteeing their "loyalty." Even then they must be careful about books consulted and notes taken, since they may be stopped and searched by police on leaving the library.

IN 8 UNIVERSITIES: It was hardly surprising, therefore, that the student movement became predominantly anti-government. Despite spies and informers and communication difficulties, after 18 months of organizational work the movement is now well established in eight principal universities.

For over a year before the February demonstrations, the Madrid University Rector Pedro Lain Entralgo had proposed as remedies for student rebellion a more liberal university regime, contacts with foreign ideas, less church interference and a cleanup of the political regime. Entralgo was removed after the outbreak.

Isolated from the world of ideas, the students in the movement have no consistent or well-defined political positions. "What is new," Campillo said in his press conference, "is that churchgoers and believers in Communism as a solution are standing together. The general tendency is for a republic." They don't want to exclude anyone from the movement, Campillo said, while they are determined to destroy the government's baseless claim that this is a "Communist inspired" movement.

THE WAGE INCREASE: Paris considers the Spanish student movement—inconceivable a year ago—of considerable significance. It comes to the fore at a time of sharpening crisis for the Franco government. On the one hand, Franco has been forced—"through gritted teeth," as **Le Monde** put it—to promise independence to Spanish Morocco. On the other, he faces growing labor unrest; the March Cabinet meeting decision to raise wages was forced by strike threats in five key Catalonian factories.

But the 20% increase, effective April 1, did not compensate for the simultaneous rise in prices of basic necessities. A bricklayer with a daily base pay of 16.75 pesetas (less than 50 cents) got a daily increase of 3 pesetas, but potatoes went up 2 pesetas per kilo (2.2 lbs.). Prices of coal, fruit, vegetables also rose. The general strike in the chief cities of Navarre province, now spreading to Bilbao and other northern cities, show the growing anger of workers. According to an authoritative source, workers planned rotating strikes—lasting 5 to 7 days—to build up their strength and win some concessions.

IT'S IN THE STREETS: Above all, Franco's deteriorating position is apparent in the fact that his government machinery is not working. The crisis within the Falange—evidenced in the ouster of key leaders, appointment of new provincial civil governors who are also Falange Party chiefs, and appointment of a new Falange Student Union secretary general, etc.—has seriously disturbed all administration branches.

A new factor, observers here say, is that the people close to the regime have lost confidence in Franco's ability to reestablish the situation. Formerly, the question of Franco's succession was discussed within the higher circles of the army, the Church, the Falange. Today, as Campillo put it, "the question of the succession is already in the streets."

THE BATTLE OF BROOKLYN HEIGHTS

Melish wins a new round in court

IN THEIR long struggle to retain Rev. William Howard Melish as minister of Brooklyn's Holy Trinity Church, the majority of the parishioners scored another victory on April 26. On that day the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court in Brooklyn unanimously upheld a previous decision of Supreme Court Justice Edward G. Baker, who had denied an appeal for a temporary injunction to restrain Mr. Melish from conducting services in the church.

The appeal had been taken by anti-Melish vestrymen and the Rev. Dr. Herman S. Sidener. Dr. Sidener had accepted the anti-Melish vestrymen's offer of the post of rector after several others had declined. He had been installed by Bishop James P. DeWolfe on March 5 over the objections of most of the parishioners.

However, on April 2, while the court case was pending, members of the former vestry who sponsored Dr. Sidener failed of reelection, and a new vestry was elected pledged to consult the wishes of the congregation in the matter of a rector.

LAWYERS COMMENT: In a statement on the April 26 ruling, former Judge Hubert T. Delany, Raphael H. Weissman and Bernard Reswick, attorneys for Mr. Melish and Holy Trinity's new vestry, said:

"Today's decision is a further rebuff to those who would coerce the congregation in the matter of choosing a rector to minister to them."

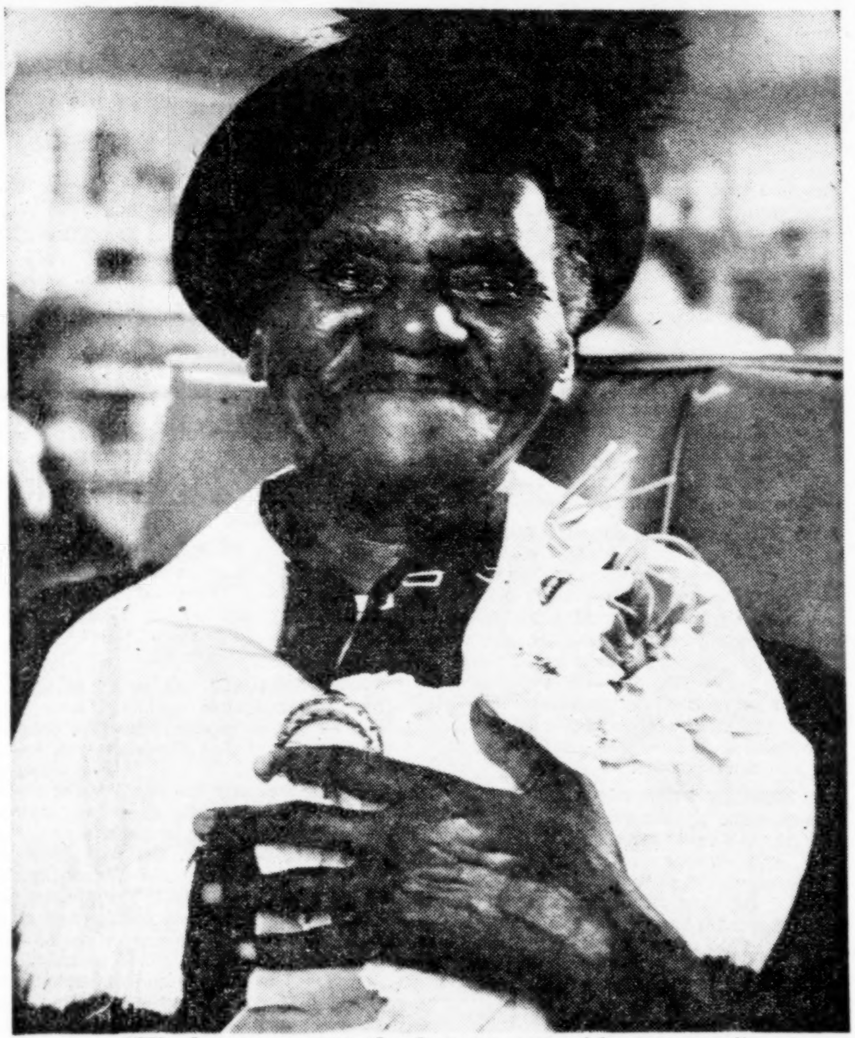
But the Melish case was not yet over. George L. Hubbell Jr., attorney for the anti-Melish faction, said he would seek an early trial on the application pending in the Brooklyn Supreme Court for a permanent injunction to restrain Mr. Melish from acting as minister at Holy Trinity.

O MARY! DON'T YOU WEEP . . .

The Montgomery women

By Eva Grimes

(Second of a series)



"We know we got the law on our side now . . ."

THE TRIAL of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. in Montgomery, Ala., in March produced many remarkable results. Not the least of these was the character and spirit of the testimony given for the defense by many Negro women who had suffered abuses on the bus lines. These women, from all kinds of occupational backgrounds, and of all ages, were called to the stand on the trial's third day. One of them, Gladys Moore, made this now-famous reply when asked who had decided to stop riding the buses:

"Fifty thousand Negroes decided, that's who."

A week after the trial, several friends were gathered in the home of another woman who testified against the bus company, Mrs. Georgia Gilmore. They had come together to spend the evening with an out of town visitor. All of them, as was typical of the majority of witnesses at the trial, were domestic workers. Three, including Miss Moore, had testified for the defense. It was a night of such violent storm that power-lines were damaged, and several areas of the city were swamped with wind and water. At one point hail clattered against the windowpanes.

STORM OR NO STORM: All the other guests were present when the visitor came in dripping from the storm. She said "On a night like this, what will the women do, trying to get home from work?"

The question seemed to amuse everyone present. Mrs. Gilmore's reply was easy: "They'll just keep on walkin, honey. And that car pool is going so good now, they don't have to worry none. They won't ride those buses, storm or no storm." Her words brought the lines of a famous old Negro spiritual to mind:

O Mary! Don't you weep, don't you mo'n
Pharaoh's army got drown-ded
O Mary! Don't you weep.
One of these mornins bout five o'clock
This ol world is gonna reel and rock
Pharaoh's army got drown-ded. O Mary!
don't you weep.

THE TELEVISION SHOW: It was an unforgettable evening, full of humor, cordiality and the infallible satiric comment on life that is one of the great gifts of the Negro people. Two nights before, with the peculiar and dogged blindness of arrogance, the White Citizens' Council had sponsored a forum of candidates for public office. Basis of the meeting was the stand of each candidate on desegregation. Of 104 questionnaires sent out, 51 replies were received, and barely half of the number replying showed up for the forum.

It was a sorry spectacle to behold on the night it was televised; it became unbearably ludicrous when one of the guests gave her version of it. The whole company was convulsed with laughter as she imitated Clyde Sellers, Montgomery's agitated commissioner of police. This was surely a strange and unintentional result of the forum.

RIGHT IS JUST RIGHT: When the room quieted down again, Miss Moore spoke in her deliberate, quiet voice:

"I worked for one of them old Council people. He's an officer in it."

"What did he do the day you went to work after you testified in court?"

"Fired me. Said he didn't want nothin to do with nobody who was part of the boycott. Now how's he going to get any **colored** person to work for him who isn't tied up with it? I know one thing though. I bet you I **will** get my pennies back from the penny collection. He owes me that money and I have a right to collect $100 a month from the state for my social security. I reckon I'm going to have to sue him to get it, but I'm expecting that. We know we got the law on our side now, and there ain't a thing he can do about it. Right is just right."

THEIR RELIGIONS: Sharing in the evening's sociability were four of Mrs. Gilmore's children who ranged in age from a high school senior to a wide-eyed, pajama-clad member of the kindergarten class of 1956. An older son, recently discharged from the U. S. Air Force, is presently in Brooklyn, getting settled down to a new life that will be mainly spent in college study under the GI bill for the next few years.

Mrs. Gilmore and her children are all Catholics; there is a sizable membership in the Catholic church among Montgomery's 50,000 Negroes. Some parents who are not Catholic send their children to parochial school in the belief that they will receive a better education there. A huge hospital, St. Jude's, is pointed out as the only place in Montgomery where complete integration is already in existence.

All the other guests that night were either Baptists or Methodists, churches both constructed throughout long years of slavery and second-class American citizenship to meet special needs of the Negro people under these conditions. All the women there were members of one or more active church committees; all of them belonged to the NAACP; most of them hold membership in some fraternal organization. Mrs. Gilmore, a licensed midwife, is in addition, a member of the PTA and an officer in the Young Democratic Club. All of them are proud and happy to see their life-long struggles to secure basic human dignity beginning, at last, to bear tangible fruit.

TWO STORIES ARE TOLD: As is always the way when Negroes come together, the conversation turned to the strange ways of white folks. The N. Y. **Post's** Ted Poston has said: "Every Negro is a bit of an expert on race relations."

Two stories told that evening with the dry, poker-faced style of the countryside bore Poston out. Both were told by a man who earns his living as a janitor and handyman for a white insurance company. He works out from Montgomery, in an area called Mount Meigs, 15 miles away.

"Since all this started I been gettin a ride out to work," he said. "But what I do is, I get out of the car awhile before I get to the job, and I walk the rest of the way.

"It don't hurt to let em think I just might have walked out the whole way. Well, th'other mornin I was walkin along and one of em met me in the road, said: 'Frank, you on your way to work?' I said, 'Sho.' He said to me, say: 'Well, Frank, don't you live over in town?' Said I sho did, then he said, say: 'Frank, ain't that a mighty far piece to walk?' I looked at him slow for a long time, then I took my time tellin him, say: 'When we read the Bible, we never did have no way of knowin just how far a ways it was that Christ walked from Bethlehem to Jerusalem, now did we?"

THIS CORN IS YELLOW: His question broke the deep listening silence. The room exploded with laughter and understanding. "You got to find a way to tell em like that," he said meditatively. "Remind me of somethin else happened a little while back. I got me a few rows of corn planted in some bottom land out a ways. Went out there to gather in some of my corn one evening, and it was plenty wet down there in that bottom cause it been rainin hard for two, three days. Well there I was, down there gettin my corn, and here come one of em down the road.

"He had to stop. He **had** to. Couldn't go long without seein what **I'm** doin. So he says: 'Mighty wet down there in that bottom land.' An after while I tells him, 'That's right. Been rainin.' Then he takes his time findin somethin else to say and I keep right on with my corn. Fin'ly says, say: 'Uh, grass mighty tall down there.' So after while I say: 'That's right. Grows that-a way.' Looked like he was gonna give up then, but he made one more try: 'That there corn you pickin . . . it's yellow.' So I took my real good time and kept on pickin my corn and then I said: 'That's right. Planted it that-a way.' An you should have seen him turn red all over and **fin'ly** go on about his business! You just got to know how to handle em, cause you got to get along and live, but you got to find some way to show 'em you don't like it, and praise be, it look like we fin'ly hit on a real **good** way to show em!"

ONLY ONE CONCLUSION: It is indeed, "a real good way," this unity of an entire community in demanding the basic, human rights guaranteed to all citizens under the Constitution of this country. A warm evening of ordinary social intercourse showed almost more than the trial how deep is the well of determination to carry on this struggle to the only conclusion that will prove satisfactory to them and therefore to the majority of Americans: full equality as citizens under the law of the land.

One more story out of that evening pointed in an unmistakable direction. It was told by the young woman who mimicked Montgomery's chief of police. It seems that one of the after-school sports of some of the mis-educated young white men of Montgomery has been to try to threaten Negro women going to or from work in suburban all-white communities by appearing to ride them down in cars as they walk the road. They fling all kinds of epithets at the women as they tell them to get out of the way. A new one has appeared in recent weeks, and as the vivid young narrator of the story said:

"Don't come trying to be smart-talkin me. I'm too quick tongued. So here come this car tryin to run me off the road and this simple bunch of high school boys yells out at me: 'Get out the way, **Autherine.** We gonna run you down.' I just stood and looked at them and said right back: 'Just **try** and do it, Clyde Sellers. **Try** and do it!' "

Insiders

BELZONI, MISS., grocer Gus Courts last week rejected the familiar view, held by many white Southerners, that Northern "outsiders" — particularly NAACP — are behind the Southern Negroes' resistance movement.

Courts, 60, who was wounded by a gun blast through the window of his small grocery store in Belzoni last December, said at a press conference: "Nobody from the North, East or West needs to tell me how bullets feel in your body, put there by people who want to keep you down." It takes no outsider to convince Negro sharecroppers they are badly treated, Courts said, when, after the crops are in and the worker goes for his pay, he is told, "Let the NAACP pay you."

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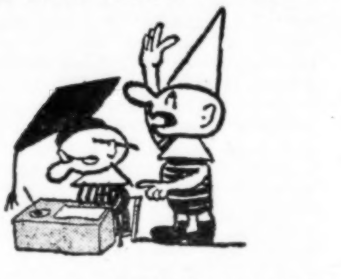
LABOR AND SOCIAL LAWS IN PERIL

Smith Bill being pushed; Supreme Court attacked

STEAM was building up last week behind Congressional moves to negate labor and social legislation under the battle-cry of states' rights. Biggest push was provided by a bill drafted by Rep. Howard W. Smith (D-Va.) which would bar the Supreme Court from ruling that any Federal statute nullifies state laws in the same field unless so specified by the Congress. The Smith Bill was a "sleeper" since 1954 but began attracting powerful Congressional support following the Supreme Court's decision in the Nelson case that the Smith Act and other Federal "anti-subversive" legislation invalidate state sedition laws (GUARDIAN, 4/23).



Drawing by Dyad, London

"Please, teacher, Alfie's allowing his school work to influence his political views."

On April 20 a House Judiciary Subcommittee headed by Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.), co-author of the McCarran-Walter Act and chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, conducted a hearing on the Smith and other bills. The press generally gave the hearing scant attention or ignored it altogether, but the Washington **Post** reported:

"The temper of the hearing was an example of the widespread support building up in Congress for action to nullify the effect of the Supreme Court decision in the Steve Nelson case."

COURT UNDER ATTACK: Two other bills before the committee, introduced by Reps. James G. Donovan (D-N.Y.) and Thomas J. Lane (D-Mass.), would restore to the states the right to prosecute cases under their own sedition laws.

The attacks on the Supreme Court by the anti-seditionists rivaled in ferocity those being made by anti-desegregationists; the two groups constituted a powerful united front. Donovan said he was "shocked" at the Nelson ruling and added:

"The Court has set itself up as a second Congress of the United States, in my opinion. This committee should do something about it."

Lane said the ruling "has had the effect of giving aid and comfort to the enemy." Walter himself had some violent words, while subcommittee member Frank Chelf (D-Ky.) accused the "present occupants" of the Court with being on an "emotional binge" and recommended a "vacation" for them until they "sober up."

THE OPPOSITION: Testifying against the Smith bill were Thomas E. Harris, associate general counsel of the AFL-CIO; Edward J. Hickey Jr. representing the Railway Labor Executives Assn.; and Clarence Mitchell of the NAACP. Harris warned that the Smith bill would return the country to the days before the Supreme Court decided that "the U. S. was to be a Nation rather than a loose confederation of sovereign states" but he said the AFL-CIO was not opposed to the bills limiting themselves to the sedition issue.

Hickey took a similar position but he warned of the menace of the Smith bill to labor by subjecting it "to the varying ideas of 48 states."

Mitchell saw the bill "as a further threat to the civil rights" of Negroes and other minorities.

Americans for Democratic Action had asked to testify but Rep. Walter adjourned the hearing without calling them and remarked: "We concluded that they couldn't contribute anything." ADA natl. chairman Joseph L. Rauh Jr. promptly called for Walter's removal as chairman of the subcommittee and demanded a reopening of the hearing. He called Walter's action "un-American" and said it disqualified him as an objective judge of the pending bills.

"A MIGHTY PROTEST": The AFL-CIO **News** called the Smith bill "A Recipe for Chaos" and said "there should be a mighty protest from citizens who believe that the issue of states' rights should not be used as a lever to destroy the functioning of our Federal government."

Labor, official publication of the Railway Labor Executives Assn., headlined its story: "Fight Looms Over Bill to Wreck Federal Labor Laws; Sedition Decision Used as Mask for Anti-Union Drive." Lester P. Schoene, attorney for the Assn., said the aim of the bill is "simply to use anti-sedition sentiment as a lever to put the bill over for other purposes."

NELSON RULING AFTERMATH

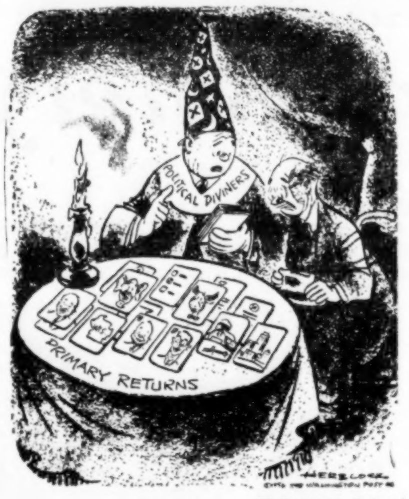
Sweezy and Braden cases in court

TWO CASES directly affected by the Supreme Court ruling in the Nelson case nullifying state sedition laws were still in the courts last week.

SWEEZY CASE: In New Hampshire on April 19 the State Supreme Court rejected a bid by Paul M. Sweezy for a rehearing on his contempt conviction under the state's Subversive Activities Act. Sweezy, co-editor of the independent socialist **Monthly Review,** had refused on constitutional grounds to answer questions during a witch-hunting investigation under the state law. On April 20 he filed notice of appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court where he will ask that the New Hampshire law be declared invalid.

BRADEN CASE: In Kentucky, state officials went ahead in their opposition to the appeal of Carl Braden from his conviction under that state's sedition law. Braden is under a 15-year sentence because he and others acquired a home for a Negro family in a white neighborhood. An assistant state attorney general insisted that only the state court of appeals could decide the case, but seemed ready to concede that Braden would have to be freed.

The Natl. Lawyers Guild filed a friend-of-the-court brief in which it argued that the "statute under which defendant was convicted cannot stand in the face of this decision of the Supreme Court of the United States; it conflicts with national legislation in the same field, and defendant's conviction falls with it."



Wall Street Journal

"It's all very significant and I'll explain it to you in November."

Politics story

(Continued from Page 1)

trader. In that kind of a trade who gets the best of it?"

At the moment when candidates were running out of debating issues, the Republicans came up with a ready-made point of difference between the two parties: Richard Nixon.

For months the President had said kind words about Nixon, and repeated several times that the Vice-President could have the second place on the 1956 ticket for the asking. Last week Nixon, never a bashful office-seeker, asked for it.

DEAD WEIGHT? White House sources had reported that the President, while leaving Nixon "to chart his own course," had suggested that Nixon's rosiest future might lie outside the Vice-Presidency. Nixon is cordially disliked in some of the circles closest to the President and by leading GOP figures in his home state of California. Moreover, the polls have indicated that Nixon would detract popular support from the ticket. The Gallup poll last month found that Eisenhower alone drew 61% of the straw votes nationwide, but when Nixon was added to the ticket it dropped to 56%. Among independents, Eisenhower-Nixon drew 62% while Eisenhower alone rated 71%; among Democrats 22%, Eisenhower alone, 29%; among Republicans, 97%, Eisenhower alone 98%. In all cases the poll pitted the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket against Stevenson and Kefauver.

Nixon's liability rating was measured before his 1952 campaign manager Murray Chotiner emerged from obscurity. The Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations revealed that Chotiner, a Los Angeles attorney, had been associated with an Atlantic City clothing manufacturer, Herman Kravitz, who in 1953 was convicted of fraud in selling uniforms to the armed forces. Chotiner also had managed the 1952 campaign of Sen. Knowland (R-Calif.).

BOTH HAPPY: The President sent word to the press that he was delighted at the way Nixon had "charted his course." So were the Democrats. With the President fully committed to him, Nixon's nomination seemed a certainty and the Democrats could panic votes their way. The N. Y. **Post** (4/27) quickly called it "a national emergency."

Even with Nixon, the Democratic prospect was not bright. James Reston in the N. Y. **Times** (4/8) wrote:

"The modern Democratic Party has always been a loose confederation of warring tribes, but it has seldom seemed more divided or frustrated than it is today."

Reston pointed to the desegregation dilemma which made it impossible to reconcile Northern and Southern wings, and summed up:

"A unified Democratic Party, using all its resources and following its best instincts, might beat Eisenhower with the help of the disgruntled farmers, but a party that would rather lose than unite has very little chance."

THE STRAWS: Within the Democratic Party the primary races were inconclusive. In most cases the balloting did not commit delegations at all, and the small turn-outs offered too few straws to forecast a wind in any direction. Estes Kefauver had done well in New Hampshire and all but demolished Stevenson in Minnesota. He was roundly defeated in Illinois (with the powerful Cook County —Chicago—machine pulling powerfully for Stevenson) and he lost heavily in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts.

The Gallup poll was offering other straws in the wind. It showed Kefauver gaining rapidly on Stevenson. In March he was 33 percentage points behind Stevenson with independent voters. In mid-April he led Stevenson by 6 points. Among Democrats Kefauver had 18% compared to Stevenson's 51% in March. April polls give him 33% to Stevenson's 39%. Gallup polled labor and found that the GOP was gaining though still far behind the Democrats as the preferred party of polled rank-and-filers, but the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket outpolled Stevenson-Kefauver 51% to 47% among skilled workers and lost by only 48% to 50% among the unskilled.

REUTHER & MEANY: Labor's mood was also seen at the National Educational Conference of the United Auto Workers. Despite undeniable rank-and-file enthusiasm for Kefauver, he appeared only in a panel discussion; Stevenson was given the build-up as a featured speaker. He was also an ideal listener for UAW Pres. Walter Reuther who said: ". . . you've got to make a choice—you cannot have Mr. Eastland and have us at the same time."

It was unclear what would happen if, as seemed likely, the Democratic Party would keep Mr. Eastland. Before the N. Y. **Times'** Youth Forum AFL-CIO Pres. Meany said labor had "no intention" of starting a third political party, adding: "We're doing very well without one."

Gilles in Humanite, Paris

BROWNELL'S PACKAGE

Senate OK's 20-yr. Smith Act penalty

WITHOUT DEBATE, and with little notice in the press, the Senate on April 19 approved a bill which would increase maximum penalties under the Smith Act to 20 years in prison and a $20,000 fine. The House last year adopted the measure, but it now goes to a Senate-House conference committee to adjust a minor difference in the two versions. Approval there is regarded as automatic.

Under the new measure the penalty for conspiring to advocate the violent overthrow of the government, under which most Smith Act victims have been convicted, will be quadrupled. For violation of the membership clause of the Smith Act, under which several persons have already been convicted and others are awaiting trial, the penalty will be doubled.

The bill originally was part of a package of measures proposed by Atty. Gen. Brownell, almost all of which have been enacted into law. In pressing for adoption of the present one, Brownell last year complained that "approximately one-third of the sentence may never be served if a prisoner conducts himself properly in the penitentiary. A little more than three years imprisonment is entirely inadequate as a deterrent for those who would conspire to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of our government."

"FREEDOM TODAY"

Station kills Dr. Slochower TV program

ON THE EVENING of April 25, New York television viewers were looking forward to hearing Dr. Harry Slochower, discharged Brooklyn College professor recently ordered reinstated by the Supreme Court, and Dr. J. Raymond Walsh discuss "Freedom Today" over Channel 13-WATV. This was to be the first of a series of programs dealing with constitutional and civil rights issues, sponsored by Standard Brand Distributors and prepared by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

But the viewers were disappointed. Even though announcements had been sent out and advertisements had appeared (GUARDIAN, 4/23) the Newark, N.J., station canceled the series entitled "Constitution—U.S.A."

Standard Brand had first approached network channels in New York, but without success; network time was unavailable because their programming is controlled far in advance. Other channels refused for various reasons, such as programming devoted exclusively to films, etc.

THE BRUSH-OFF: On April 11, Standard Brand signed the contract submitted by WATV. The station, however, failed to return the contract, brushed off calls from sponsor's agent with such explanations as "it will be in the mail today." But WATV released a listing of the scheduled program for publication in **TV Guide** and local newspapers.

On April 19 the station said it would not return the contract until its officials had seen the script for the April 25 telecast. Two hours after the script was delivered to WATV the next morning, the station notified the agent that it had decided to schedule only "entertainment programs." After Standard Brand released the story to the press, the N. Y. **Times** (4/24) quoted WATV President Irving R. Rosenhaus:

"It is our policy not to allow commercial sponsorship—that is, where the sale of a product is involved—of a program about political or controversial matters."

ECLC's offer to pay for the time itself—to test the station's sincerity—was turned down.

FREE AS THE AIR: TV audiences were deprived of hearing besides Walsh and Slochower—Prof. Broadus Mitchell, of Rutgers University; **Nation** editor Carey McWilliams; suspended N.Y. teacher Stella Eliashow, discharged Philadelphia teacher Goldie Watson; and former N.J. Fedn. of Teachers President Hildegarde Wells.

ECLC director Clark Foreman wrote to the Federal Communications Commission, giving details of the case involving "the problem of freedom of controversy on TV channels [which] for years . . . have turned down public affairs and civil liberties programs with the excuse that the programs must have a commercial sponsor."

He asked the FCC: "Please let us know what recourse there is to preserve the fundamental freedom that belongs to the American people to speak and to be heard through public communication channels . . ."

Help N. Y. Smith Act Defendants!

MRS. MARION BACHRACH

GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY

There is now going on at the Foley Square Courthouse the third New York Smith Act trial in seven years. Seven defendants are on trial because of their beliefs and associations.

Three of them—Mrs. Marion Bachrach, George Blake Charney and Alexander Trachtenberg—have already been through one trial. Charney and Trachtenberg were freed from prison after government informer Harvey Matusow confessed that he had borne false witness. Mrs. Bachrach's case was severed because of a serious cancer operation. Today she has been forced to face trial again.

The other four defendants are James E. Jackson, Sidney Stein, William Norman and Fred M. Fine. All have devoted their lives to their ideals of peace and social progress and are active figures in the Communist Party. Stein has been a special victim of Administration repression, jailed under the prohibitive bail of $105,000 on the Smith Act and a related charge.

ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

There is little need to argue the issues of the Smith Act with thoughtful Americans. Most liberals, whatever their attitude on Communism, agree strongly with the right to advocate one's views on peace, civil rights, economic questions or a new social order. They hope with Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black that "this or some later court will restore the First Amendment liberties to the high preferred place where they belong in a free society." The Supreme Court itself is taking a "second look" at the Smith Act by reviewing two Smith Act cases next Fall.

JAMES E. JACKSON

Meanwhile, however, the needs in the current trial are great. Support of the defense is urgent. For some months I have served as treasurer for an appeal issued by Norman Thomas and subscribed to by Roger Baldwin, Murray Kempton and Rev. Donald Harrington. This appeal was for funds to pay the legal expenses for Charney and Trachtenberg. Now, however, there are seven defendants who desperately need assistance.

SIDNEY STEIN

They have a splendid battery of defense counsel in Newman Levy, John McKim Minton, Dr. Royal W. France, Mrs. Mary M. Kaufman, Charles T. Duncan, Frank Reeves and Vincent Hallinan.

A Joint Self-Defense Committee has been set up at 11 Park Place, Room 810, New York. I am writing to express the hope, at the suggestion of Mr. Thomas, that you will wish to aid in supporting the defendants in this important trial. You may send your contribution directly to the office of the Committee, making your check payable to Alexander Trachtenberg, Treasurer. A coupon is attached for your convenience.

WILLIAM NORMAN

It is earnestly hoped you will help. (And, if you live in the metropolitan district, won't you visit the trial yourself? It's in Room 110, United States Courthouse.)

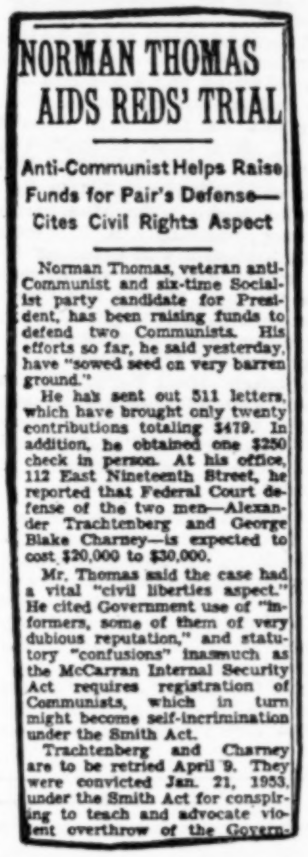
Yours for the Bill of Rights,

Helen L. Alfred

HELEN L. ALFRED

FRED M. FINE

NEW YORK TIMES, MARCH 27, 1956



NORMAN THOMAS AIDS REDS' TRIAL

Anti-Communist Helps Raise Funds for Pair's Defense—Cites Civil Rights Aspect

Norman Thomas, veteran anti-Communist and six-time Socialist party candidate for President, has been raising funds to defend two Communists. His efforts so far, he said yesterday, have "sowed seed on very barren ground."

He has sent out 511 letters, which have brought only twenty contributions totaling $479. In addition, he obtained one $250 check in person. At his office, 112 East Nineteenth Street, he reported that Federal Court defense of the two men—Alexander Trachtenberg and George Blake Charney—is expected to cost $20,000 to $30,000.

Mr. Thomas said the case had a vital "civil liberties aspect." He cited Government use of "informers, some of them of very dubious reputation," and statutory "confusions" inasmuch as the McCarran Internal Security Act requires registration of Communists, which in turn might become self-incrimination under the Smith Act.

Trachtenberg and Charney are to be retried April 9. They were convicted Jan. 21, 1953, under the Smith Act for conspiring to teach and advocate violent overthrow of the Govern-

Many people have inquired about Norman Thomas and have expressed a desire to compliment him on his sturdy opposition to the Smith Act and defense of its victims, despite his strong disagreement with Communists. If you want to drop him a line, address him at 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

◆

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ALL EYES ON MONTGOMERY

Jimcrow buses believed outlawed in 11 states

By Eugene Gordon

THE U. S. SUPREME COURT on April 22 outlawed jimcrow on intrastate public buses—operating within a state. The Interstate Commerce Commission last November ordered that racial segregation cease in trains and buses crossing state lines and in waiting rooms. The latest ruling took the form of a refusal to review a Federal Court of Appeals opinion against a S. Carolina jimcrow law.

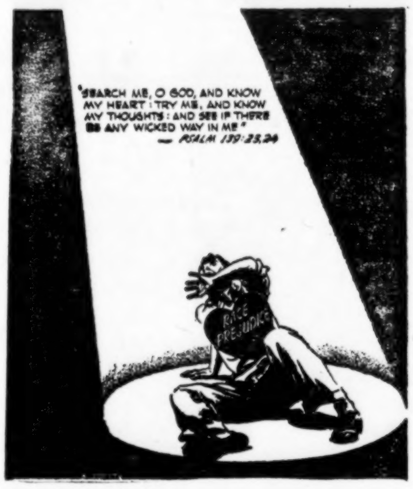
The case which resulted in the April 22 ruling began when Miss Sarah Mae Flemming, boarding a S. C. Electric and Gas Co.-owned bus in Columbia June 22, 1954, took the nearest vacant seat. The driver "in loud, abusive and threatening language and tone," the NAACP reported, ordered her to the rear. "Frightened and fearing further humiliation as well as bodily harm," she attempted to leave at the next stop, following a white passenger to the front door. The driver ordered her to get off at the rear "and struck her in the stomach to further force her to obey his order."

SWEPT AWAY: Miss Flemming a month later filed complaint in the U. S. Dist. Court. Company attorneys argued that Federal jurisdiction didn't cover officers of the state, a status held by bus drivers in S. Carolina. Federal Judge George B. Timmerman—father of S. Carolina Gov. Timmerman—contended that the U. S. Supreme Court anti-jimcrow school decision outlawing the "separate but equal" doctrine didn't apply. He dismissed the suit.

The NAACP took the case to the Court of Appeals, arguing that recent Supreme Court decisions "have swept away all support for the 'separate but equal' doctrine even as applied to intrastate commerce."

The Court of Appeals in Richmond, on July 1, 1955, ruled that the "separate but equal" principle "can no longer be regarded as a correct statement of the law" in the field of intrastate commerce; and declared the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, on schools applied to jimcrow on city buses within the state. The company appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court. The April 22 ruling was the answer.

EYES ON MONTGOMERY: Legal authorities and reporters interpreted the ruling as outlawing jimcrow bus travel also in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, N. Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. It becomes effective shortly after the court in Richmond has been officially notified of the action. Despite some interpretation, reported in the N. Y. **Post** (4/25), that the Supreme Court "did not rule that segregation on local bus lines violated the Constitution," legal authorities in some of the affected states took it for granted that the ruling did precisely that. In parts of Arkansas, Virginia and Texas bus desegregation began at once.


"SEARCH ME, O GOD, AND KNOW MY HEART: TRY ME, AND KNOW MY THOUGHTS: AND SEE IF THERE BE ANY WICKED WAY IN ME"
— PSALM 139:23,24
RACE PREJUDICE

Religious Drawings, Inc., an organization of Southern white people, offers a folio of 27 drawings entitled RACE on the theme that American Negroes should have unqualified equal rights as American citizens. There are available in reproduction proofs and mats for two and three column (4 and 6 inch) widths. Among the awards R. D. has won are "best cartoons promoting American freedom" from Freedoms Foundation and "most patriotic cartoon" from the American Legion. Their address: 3309 Brookview Drive, Waco, Texas.

The nation's eyes were centered on Alabama, whose capital for five months has been the center of a mass protest movement against jimcrow on Montgomery's City Lines buses (see p. 7). Mayor Gayle and Police Commissioner Sellers, vociferous supporters of the law requiring jimcrow transportation, said they would order the arrest of any passenger or driver who obeyed the Supreme Court ruling. The City Commission declared the bus company's 10-year franchise would be canceled "if one party breaks the law." Sellers said: "If the bus company operates in Montgomery, it will have to operate under Montgomery and Alabama laws."

Natl. City Lines Inc. vice pres. B. W. Franklin said at the home office in Chicago: "This company has no choice but to comply with the decision of the Supreme Court. For that reason we are not going to attempt to enforce segregation. We always comply with laws in effect." Since Dec. 5 the Montgomery company has lost approximately $3,000 a day.

NEVER GO BACK: The N. Y. **Times** (4/26) said: "Some officials in Alabama and doubtless other states may try to take temporary refuge in the fact that the most recent case refers specifically to a S. Carolina bus line only, although it is obvious that if it means that segregation on buses will end there, it will apply to every state and city where segregated transportation is in effect."

That was the way the Rev. Martin Luther King and his fellow leaders of the Montgomery Improvement Assn. saw it. A resolution read before 5,000 members on April 26 pledged to "carry on our mass protest" until there is "clarification" of the city officials' position. It authorized the association's board of directors to "do any and all acts that it deems necessary to perfect our desires." Five thousand voices shouted, "Aye!"

The protest started when Mrs. Rosa Parks on Dec. 5 was fined for refusing to give her bus seat to a white man. Demands at first were simply that drivers treat Negro passengers courteously, that seating be arranged on a first-come, first-served basis, and that Negro drivers be hired for predominantly Negro routes. City and company said no. The Rev. B. D. Lambert summed up present demands:

"The Negroes of Montgomery will never go back to jimcrow laws!"

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LYL Teen-Age Cultural Festival
In last week's ad for the Cultural Festival and competition sponsored by the Labor Youth League, the address was incorrectly printed. The correct address for entries and information is 159 West 23 St., N. Y. 11. The Festival will be held on Fri., May 25

MINNEAPOLIS

Spring Conference of the Progressive Party of Minnesota
SUNDAY, MAY 27
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CALENDAR

Chicago

SAT., MAY 26. Soviet-style feast. 2757 LeMoyne. Dinner 7 p.m. Exclusive showing of new Soviet film 8:30 p.m. Reservations (incl. admission to film) $2 from Chi. Counc. of Am.-Sov. Friendship, 189 W. Madison, AN 3-187.. Film only: donation $1.

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Los Angeles

CORLISS LAMONT, Professor of Philosophy at Columbia University, and author of "Soviet Civilization", and the new book "Freedom Is As Freedom Does", will speak on **"THE CONGRESSIONAL INQUISITION"** on Sun., May 13, 2:30. p.m. at the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, 2936 W. 8th St. Adm.: 50c. Sponsored by: Los Angeles Chapter of Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice.

5th annual **FESTIVAL OF THE ARTS**
May 18 thru June 3rd
Art Exhibit opening, May 18. World Premiere of Lester Cole's new play "The Echoing Hills", May 19, 20, 26. Mozart's Freemason Cantata and George Neikrug, cello virtuoso May 25. Paul Robeson sings, June 1 & 3. For additional information on Family Dance and Song program, lectures and films, call DUnkirk 9-9998 or write for brochure, **FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH,** 2936 W. 8th St., just east of Vermont.

WORLD PREMIERE
May 19, 20, 26
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A drama of the making of an abolitionist in pre-civil war South. Directed by Robert Davis. Starring all professional cast. Adm. $1.50. Tickets available now. 1st Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8 St.

San Francisco

CELEBRATION — 25th ANNIVERSARY
American Russian Institute
"PEACE MARCHES ON!" with Dr. Corliss Lamont. Original entertainment, refreshments. FRI., MAY 18, 8 p.m. at 150 Golden Gate. Tickets $1 at 90 McAllister.

New York

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) commemorates VE-Day with the first of two great war films, "DESERT VICTORY," May 5. This Academy Award winner co-directed by Roy Boulting ("Fame is the Spur") documents the rout of the German army in North Africa, the first victory of World War II. Showings: Sat. only, 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm.: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: A WALK IN THE SUN.

MONTHLY REVIEW BIRTHDAY PARTY
WEDNESDAY, MAY 16, 8:30 P.M.
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REV. STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN
Speaks on California's Fight For Freedom, Wed., May 23, 8:30 p.m. at The Auditorium, 150 W. 85 St. Don. 50c. Auspices: Religious Freedom Committee, 118 E. 28 St.
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BAZAAR: **GIFTS FOR MOTHER'S DAY** All kinds of merchandise, bargain prices. Fri., May 4, 8-11 p.m.; Sat., May 5, 1-9 p.m.; Sun., May 6, 2-9 p.m. at VILLAGE ALP, 28 Greenwich Av.

VENTURE PARTY
Sat., May 12, 8:30 P.M.
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Come to the Hungarian **SPRING BAZAAR,** Sat. & Sun., May 5 & 6th at Hungarian House, 2141 Southern Blvd., Bronx. Beautiful imported Hungarian aluminum ware, Mexican basketware, Indian print bedspreads, skirts; toys gifts for every occasion at bargain prices. Home-made cake, strudel, good Hungarian food. Ausp. Hungarian Women's Club.

SUN., MAY 6, 7:30 P.M. Three unusual films: "Montmartre Madness," "Bermuda Holiday," "Bali." Dancing, Refreshments. 12 Film Club, 820 Broadway. GR 3-6090. Doors open 6:30 p.m. Subs: $1.

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Powells and Schuman indicted

(Continued from Page 1)

men from utilizing the growing market in a China being rapidly industrialized; as in the days of the Clipper Ships, trade could again open the way to "working out our differences with China."

'TREASON' CHARGED: Before the hearing Powell had disclosed that in Hong Kong, on his way back to the U. S., old friends and officials avoided him because of his "unorthodox" views on China, and the CIA offered to pay him "for any military information I might have." At a press conference at the Natl. Press Club in Washington after his hearing, Powell denied being a Communist, said he refused to say this under oath because he felt such a question invaded his privacy.

After the Sept., 1954, hearing, Sen. Jenner said Powell had returned home "to soften up the American people," asked the Justice Dept. "to press a treason charge" against Powell. Some months later Sen. Herman Welker (R-Ida.) repeated Jenner's demand. In March, 1955, a Senate Internal Security Subcommittee report declared that Powell's activities were a "betrayal of America's cause in the Far East."

THE INDICTMENT: Last month, before a Federal Grand Jury in what was described as a secret and "highly urgent" session, three witnesses were called. They were Wilhelmine G. Loughrey of the Twentieth Century Bookstore at Berkeley, Calif.; Powell's sister Mrs. Martha Hensley of Chevy Chase, Md.; and Ellis Colton of the Intl. Bookstore at San Francisco, Calif.

On April 25 the Grand Jury handed down the indictment charging that the Powells and Schuman were guilty of sedition "while the U. S. was engaged in war with N. Korean and Chinese Communists. . . ." Mrs. Powell and Schuman were indicted with Powell on a single count of conspiracy; 12 additional substantive counts were lodged against Powell.

The indictment alleged that the three conspired to "convey false reports in the northern district of California and elsewhere in the U.S. by means of editorials, articles and cartoons in the **China Monthly Review** with intent to interfere with the operation and success of the military and naval forces of the U. S. and to promote the success of its enemies. . ." The indictment also claimed that the Powells and Schuman through the Review attempted wilfully to cause "insubordination" in the U. S. military and naval forces and to obstruct the recruitment and enlistment of servicemen by the U. S.

THE COUNTER-CHARGE: Government officials defined sedition as "activity designed to interfere with the operation and success of the military forces of the U. S. and to promote the success of its enemies." This is the first time the government has invoked the 1953 statute that catalogues the Korean incident as a war. If found guilty the Powells and Schuman could be sentenced to 20 years imprisonment and fined $10,000 on each count. Powell's total punishment could be 260 years and $130,000.

At a press interview on April 26—the day after the indictment—Powell accused the government of "trying to shut me up all this time," and of "pushing it a little far" by charging him with sedition. He said: "Our China policy is cockeyed. If we continue to play with Chiang we'll lose all of Asia. It's no use to pretend that the present Chinese government is not doing a better job than previous governments. . . By not recognizing [the Chinese] revolution we are flying in the face of history."

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS: In a statement released on April 27, the Powells said: "We have certainly not committed any acts of sedition. We reject this accusation as entirely false. We are proud to be American citizens and affirm our loyalty to our country."

The Powells said they believed that "this indictment has come about because in . . . the **China Monthly Review** we were outspoken critics of our government's foreign policy in Asia and particularly our China policy. This is a freedom of the press case from start to finish." They felt it was "no accident that many outstanding scholars, professors and foreign service personnel whose opinions on our China policy run counter to those of Senators McCarthy, Jenner, Welker and Eastland have also suffered persecution."

GAG ON DEBATE: "We spent 15 years in China," the Powells' statement continued, "and feel that we speak with some authority on the events there. As trained and conscientious journalists, we endeavored at all times to report the facts. . . This approach to independent journalism I learned from my father, the late J. B. Powell, who founded the **Review** in China 40 years ago. Though our opinions run counter to those . . . who still pretend that Chiang Kai-shek and his group on Formosa represent China, we believe that as American citizens it is not only our right but our duty to report on what we saw.

"The question of our China policy is indeed a complex one and there are many views as to what we should do. While we believe that our opinions are valid, we recognize the right of others to hold different views. . . Loyalty does not imply conformity of opinion. We view this indictment as another attempt to stop public debate on our China policy."

Voice of the disabled

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